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What Price The Democrats: The unhappy plight of the Democratic party today recalls a humorous anecdote which convulsed Washington during the 1948 campaign, when the party dismally but privately admitted that its candidate Truman was going to be beaten. A friend visiting the White House found the President's chief brain trusters, Clark Clifford and John Steelman, slumped in their chairs, uttering the most pessimistic observations. Thereupon, the visitor made the ironic crack: "Well, it looks to me as if the only danger you face is that of over-confidence."

The laugh when that went around the Capital was on the Democrats. The day after the '48 election it was on the Republicans. Today, the Democrats, remembering '48, bravely repeat an array of impressive statistics of elections since 1953. The Democrats scored a higher percentage of the popular vote in the 1954 congressional election than in any off-year election since 1934. The Democrats have won 7 of 8 by-elections, captured 9 governorships (and lost none), taken 500 seats in state legislatures and lost only 5. And so forth.

The Republicans, in rebuttal to these figures, simply say that Ike's popularity does not rub off on other GOP candidates and that opinion polls show the President surely re-elected. The Democrats (who swore by the polls in Roosevelt's day) now denounce them, pointing out that they were wrong in '48 and again this year about Stevenson in the Minnesota primary.

Even among the Republicans, there are some skeptics about the public opinion polls. One GOP veteran leader remarked: "I don't trust them. Why? Because I think some can be bought. Why do I think so? Because I bought one of them myself for the party some years ago. And we lost the election."

Nevertheless, even the most dispassionate observers give the GOP the edge — as the situation now stands — because of the southern revolt. It is true, of course, that there is at present no organization for a Third or Southern party. It is also true that southern Democratic leaders — Governors, Senators and Representatives — dread any such break and will make every effort to prevent one. But two factors — as many here view it — operate in a contrary direction:

(1) The extreme "liberal" wing of the Democratic party actually wants a break with the Southern conservatives and is working for a platform which would compel the Dixie forces to leave. (2) The rising temperature of the South under the impact of the Supreme Court desegregation decree constantly exacerbates the mass of Southerners and this promises to force the southern Democratic politicians — however reluctantly — into an independent position. Since there appears to be no likelihood of a calmer social atmosphere south of the Mason-Dixon Line, a breakup at the Democratic convention appears inevitable. In that case, Harriman probably would get the nomination of the regular Democratic party, and the Southerners would form their own party.

In such an event, chances would probably favor the GOP, although not necessarily so. A southern States' Rights party might garner more electoral votes than in 1948; and the regular Democratic party might again profit from the farm vote to capture many northern states; and finally the election could conceivably be thrown into the House of Representatives. At any rate, these are the prospects which Capital observers must now explore cautiously.

Not Merely Gossip: Despite ex-Governor Dewey's fond words about Vice President Nixon (on Meet the Press recently), many on Capitol Hill believe that the forces which sought (with near success

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six weeks ago) to dump Nixon as vice presidential candidate with President Eisenhower have by no means given up. Their efforts have two lines: (1) Kill him with sweet words — somewhat similar to Dewey's "love Dick" sentiments expressed on TV; (2) — and this is a developing strategy so far ignored by the press — to encourage the naming of "favorite son" candidates for the second place. Through the far-flung Dewey-Brownell organization — it is claimed — this effort is already under way. For instance, the Maine delegation, on orders from above, has been pledged to Senator Margaret Chase Smith for second place on the national ticket. Similar moves — it is predicted — will take place in other states, eventually creating a babel of vice presidential candidates which will have the effect of reducing Nixon's delegate support. Professional observers are watching this possibility very closely.

● Diplomatic Row delivers the following judgment: Dulles' proposal (of the last few days) that NATO be "developed and broadened" as an economic and political organization is actually official admission that NATO is as dead as a dodo. This military organization — founded by Truman and Eisenhower in 1951 — is now, as military men see it, no longer of real military value or power. One of the most striking tip-offs of this came 2 weeks ago when General Alfred Gruenther, head of NATO, resigned to go into private business. Gruenther knew that NATO's days as a military force were numbered and he wished to take care of his own private security — by accepting a reputed $100,000-a-year job with an American business firm.

As for NATO itself, from now on the game is to keep the NATO flag flying as a sort of Marshall Plan or give-away group (at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer). Such is the general verdict on Capitol Hill which has been seething with talk of the Dulles announcement in the past forty-eight hours. What particularly arouses some legislators is the current story that it was Guy Mollet, French Socialist Premier, who sold Dulles on the idea.

● Senator Jenner, among others, demands the expulsion of A. A. Sobelov, head of the Soviet delegation to the UN, for complicity in the kidnapping of five Russian sailors who took refuge in the U.S. The five were spirited away on a plane to Finland. The facts of this incident were reported by *Newsweek* and explored by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, in the past week. No little indignation has been inspired by reports that U.S. Government authorities, prompted by a decision at a "high level," permitted the kidnappings to take place. The expulsion of two more Red officers by the U.S. is considered inadequate action.

Observers with vivid memories recall a somewhat similar case that took place in September 1949, when a refugee Red Russian was manhandled, within sight of the White House in Washington, by goons from the Soviet Embassy who tried to kidnap him. FBI agents stopped them. HUMAN EVENTS, reporting the incident in its issue of September 14, 1949, remarked that the FBI did not arrest the Soviet strong-arm squad. "Why? That is a question which Washington observers are asking. They are pondering a report that the State Department forbade the arrest of the Soviet agents."

HUMAN EVENTS went on to comment that "although the Russian network operated with such effrontery right on his threshold," President Truman did not seem disturbed and observed that the "best way to deal with Communism in the U.S. is to laugh it out of existence instead of by legal prosecution." Today, it is recalled that Truman, who was thus "soft on Communism," rode to his downfall and retirement and Eisenhower, aided by McCarthy, rode to victory in 1952. Political observers suggest the parallel may be instructive.

Letter from GRAHAM PATTERSON, Publisher of *Farm Journal*: "I have been a subscriber to HUMAN EVENTS from the first. In writing editorials for both *Farm Journal* and *Town Journal*, and analyzing the editorial approach in other material, I find it an invaluable aid to sound Americanism."

Income Tax: The article, "Let's Get Rid of the Income Tax," by former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, T. Coleman Andrews, hit the stands early this week in *American Weekly* (distributed by the Hearst papers) and went to some 10 million readers. In Washington, congressional opinion mounted in its favor. Representative Ralph Gwinn of the 27th District of New York told HUMAN EVENTS: "Every American citizen should read and ponder this remarkable analysis of the appalling evils and

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dangerous weaknesses of the income tax, and the incredible Government we have allowed to grow upon us by its unlimited power to tax and spend."

In the article, Andrews puts down a number of reasons why we should get rid of this tax. Understandably, the Commissioner — while seeking to enforce the law — must have generated a considerable reservoir of indignation from knowledge of its inequities and injustices. He shows how a person "with an income of $40,000 pays 48 times more tax than the fellow with an income of $4,000. Ten times more income, 48 times more tax."

Subtitles of other sections of the essay are revealing: "It's Legalized Confiscation," "It's Too Complicated," "Who Understands It?," "It's a Thirty Year Old Problem," "It Costs the Government Too Much," "More Agents Needed."

Andrews proposes a Hoover-Commission-type group to make a critical analysis of the income tax and to study reasonable proposals for reform. It is obvious that the former Commissioner has some concrete ideas on how a new law or a reformed system could be devised which would be fair to the taxpayer and at the same time produce adequate revenue for the Government. Clearly, the author wishes an orderly inquiry and a sane solution. But, that he is not exactly a soul of patience with the *status quo*, is seen by his question: "How long do you think the people are going to let such banditry, compounded by extreme complexity, continue?"

Bricker Amendment: Proponents of the Bricker amendment to the Constitution are heartened by a little-noticed Senate action last week, in which it adopted an amendment offered by Senator John Bricker to a minor resolution having to do with the notorious International Labor Organization.

The resolution, yet to be acted on by the House, increases the maximum amount the United States can pay toward ILO operating expenses from $1,750,000 annually, to $3,000,000. Bricker's amendment retains the old maximum so long as employer and employee delegates to the ILO from the Soviet Union or its satellites are accorded voting privileges by the organization.

Such Red participation in ILO deliberations, in the sham guise of being "employer" and "employee" representatives, is the basis for the demands for U.S. withdrawal from ILO voiced by William L. McGrath, noted Cincinnati industrialist, who served as U.S. employer delegate in 1954 and 1955.

Bricker's amendment was adopted 43 to 40. The vote generally is interpreted as reflecting a growing discontent in Congress with some of the more internationalist phases of Administration foreign policy. This same dissatisfaction, in the opinion of most observers, may lead to support of the big Bricker amendment.

Another indication of the growing congressional distrust of Administration internationalism is seen in the House's inaction on the Administration bill to authorize U.S. membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation.

This bill was approved last month by the House Ways and Means Committee by a vote of 17 to 7, with full Democratic backing, but nothing has been done toward seeking to persuade the Rules Committee to provide for its floor consideration. If it ever does reach the House floor, guesses are that the vote will be close and that the bill quite likely might be defeated.

The OTC is proposed as an agency to administer the so-called GATT — the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade — to which the U.S. is signatory. But many legislators doubt that the Executive branch ever had authority to sign GATT, even under the reciprocal trade agreements program, which the Executive cites as its authority.

Substantial support is developing, particularly among legislators from districts where industry is suffering from competition of cheap-labor imports, for a resolution to require the Ways and Means Committee to determine whether U.S. adherence to GATT was authorized, or whether it was an invalid exercise of purported — but non-existent — power. Interestingly, this proposal has a dual sponsorship: Representative Robert Hale, a conservative Republican from Maine who sees his district's textile industry fading before cheaply-made imports, and Representative Cleveland Bailey, a union-supporting Democrat from West Virginia where coal mines face comparable problems. Observers say this resolution might pass.

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The OTC-GATT incident is coming to the fore as another example of the need for the Bricker amendment.

Leftward Court: Inch by inch, say eminent Constitutional lawyers, the Supreme Court's five-man majority is taking the nation further down the road toward the liberal-left goal of an all-powerful Federal Government, with state governments shorn of all authority except such minor administrative matters as the beneficent Federal Government deigns to leave them.

This controlling five-member bloc basically comprises the Eisenhower-appointed Chief Justice Warren plus Associate Justices Black, Frankfurter, Douglas and Clark. To substantiate their comments, the disturbed lawyers cite three April decisions of the quintet (entirely apart from the vast inroads made on states' rights by their continuing segregation rulings):

April 2 — Joined by Justice Burton, they invalidated state sedition laws on grounds the Smith Act and other Federal statutes had pre-empted the field (congressional sponsors of the laws cited say this was never their intention).

April 9 — Held invalid (5 to 4) the New York City charter provision for discharge of teachers or other city employees refusing to answer questions on the basis of the Fifth Amendment.

April 23 — In a little-noticed 5-4 split decision, decreed that Illinois state courts must provide free trial transcripts to pauper defendants, in any criminal cases, who wish to appeal their convictions. Heretofore, that state has furnished such free transcripts only in cases involving capital punishment; but the Supreme Court majority held that this violates the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment by penalizing some defendants for their indigency.

Attorneys concede that sociologically, the goal is highly desirable but they agree with dissenting Justice Harlan's comment that "regard for our system of Federalism requires such as this be left to the states." Justice Burton, in a separate dissent, suggests that if the Illinois practice is invalid, "why then fix bail at any reasonable sum if a poor man can't make it?"

Future Justice: Because of this Supreme Court trend cited above, most attorneys are predicting it will overturn this week's 6-2 decision of the D. C. Court of Appeals reinstating the contempt conviction of a congressional committee witness who refused on principle to answer questions about Communist associations.

The recalcitrant witness was John T. Watkins, who testified that as an organizer for the United Automobile Workers Union he had worked with Communists from 1942 to 1947 although he said he never was one himself. He refused to answer any questions about these associates.

Convicted in District court, he took his case to the Court of Appeals. Last January, a three-judge appellate panel, split 2 to 1, set aside the conviction on grounds the hearing had no valid legislative purpose and was intended only for exposure. Widely hailed by the liberal-left, that decision was regarded by all congressional investigators as a severe blow to their efforts.

But the Court of Appeals agreed to reconsider the case *en banc*, with all its eight members sitting. This week, it overruled its two colleagues (who now constitute the minority) and reinstated the conviction.

Watkins' attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., of ADA and Paul Hughes notoriety, says he will take the case to the Supreme Court. Lawyers are afraid they know what will happen there.

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Article Section

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THE POLITICIANS TAKE OVER SOCIALISM

By John T. Flynn

I offer for your inspection what is probably the most peculiar twister in our political history. The Communist party is busted — can't pay its bills. The socialist party is dead. Norman Thomas and its old warriors are men without a political machine and are reduced to the necessity of bumming a ride on some other vehicle. Eugene V. Debs once polled a million votes. In 1952 a Mr. Hoopes got only 2,600 votes on a socialist ticket in New York State. But despite these melancholy statistics, socialism is far from dead.

Its once robust body — the socialist party — may be crawling towards Potter's Field. But socialism itself — now operated as a political racket — has been taken over by both the Democratic and Republican politicians. What is more serious, there is literally no effective opposition to it.

Let me be clear about the meaning of the word "politician." I do not include in this term so-called "statesmen" in Congress. Actually most of the Senators and Congressmen are merely the spokesmen for the far more powerful gentlemen who run the parties "back home." Back of all officeholders from the Cabinet down is a highly organized group of competent and pragmatic men who operate the party machines in their constituencies.

They are interested not in political philosophies and economic theories, but in power, in votes which confer power, and in Government payrolls and spendings and congressional legislation. They manage the party machinery in every voting precinct and provide the sinews of war through Government contracts, political contributions and desired legislation, so that policy for their several areas can be affected and the decisions made about who shall be mayor or Congressman or Senator or, for that matter, President of the United States.

In an older day, it was with the appropriations of the states and cities that politicians operated, because the states and cities had the biggest payroll armies and the biggest tax collections. The Federal Government was a secondary affair. Its authority was limited by the Constitution. But what's the Constitution among Supreme Court justices? The total expenses of the Federal Government in 1913 were $724,511,000. Half of this was spent on the Army and Navy. All civilian outlays for jobs and contracts amounted to only $365,000,000. The states and the state and local politicians had $1,650,000,000 to play with.

It was around the machinery and finances of the states and cities, therefore, that the big bosses grew to power and mischief. This flourished through long years. It created an evil succession of leaders — Boss Tweed, John Kelly, Richard Croker, Charlie Murphy, to name a few in New York State alone. Tweed died in prison; Croker resigned and lived out his life in England. There was always a collection of interests who were willing to pay the bosses for their costly favors.

The partnership between these ruthless politicians and the voracious money lords like Gould and Fisk is well known history. Elihu Root declared "that the people of the Empire State" were ruled for a generation by an invisible Government of party bosses. He said governors did not rule; boss Tom Platt ruled the legislature in Albany for 20 years and the power of the state was not the governor nor the legislature but Tom Platt; the Capitol was not in Albany but at 49 Broadway. Of course, the same situation existed in greater or less degree in other states.

I recall these sordid years because they illustrate the system through which over-eager business — big business and other groups — pro-

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vided the politicians with the means to win elections and to reward their generous donors with desired laws, Government contracts and valued immunities. Let me repeat, the worst part of this system was in the states and cities because the states and cities possessed the power and money on a scale withheld from the Federal Government.

But in all justice, it must be said that these abuses inspired patriotic citizens to a wrath which, over a long period of reform, corrected many of them. The power and capacity of the capitalist agent to secure favors for his principal or group was standard. But a moment was approaching when the politicians would have to look elsewhere for the money to do business with. This would come, by a curious twist of fate, from a wholly unsuspected source.

MEANTIME a new and dangerous force got under way — just about the time a crusading citizenship was making some impression on the moral fibre of Government and its engineers. This new force was generated in private business. It was not planned. It got under way with a certain unguarded approval. It consisted of that wild upsurge of adventurous exploitation of our banks, our stock exchanges, our corporate setups which roared up in an orgy of speculation in the stock and commodity markets and culminated in the great crisis of 1929 and the depression which followed.

This disaster infected the minds of many good men with the feeling that the capitalist catastrophe, long predicted by Marx and his disciples, had now arrived. It was indeed a catastrophe, but it was not due to any essential flaw in the system of private enterprise. It was brought on by a collection of abuses which willful, adventurous and, in some cases, foolish business groups committed against the system, in their haste for swift and extravagant profits.

The disaster produced two results. It brought Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency and created a mood of questioning and even hopelessness about our form of economic life How little this was understood can be surmised from the promises of the new President as he approached his election.

He said he was "opposed to Government doles. I do not believe the Government has any right to give away money." He said he was opposed to the spending by Government of "huge sums on public works only as a stop-gap." He denounced Herbert Hoover "as the greatest spender in history." He cried: "Revenues must cover expenditures by one means or another. . . . Let us have the courage to stop the deficits." He denounced "regimentation of business," declared he was for "States' rights" and denounced the tendency "to concentrate power at the top of Government as alien to our system." I recall these assurances to focus attention on that incredible succession of crackpot schemes to which Roosevelt very quickly turned when he entered the White House.

But something strange indeed happened not only to Roosevelt, but to the American politician. Knowing little of economics, the President soon found his Administration swarming with revolutionaries of every hue. There were some Communists, but it was that hectic horde of aroused, frantic socialist writers, teachers and lecturers who quickly penetrated every department of the new Administration, including the White House itself. Under Mrs. Roosevelt's direction, the White House became the headquarters for a crowd of young revolutionists.

These episodes marked the abandonment of any effort to cure the defects in the free enterprise system. They signalled the beginning of a well-defined assault on that system from the White House itself. There could be no doubt that the bewildered President, "perplexed in the extreme," surrendered to a program which consisted of increased borrowing, a dose of socialism, a shot of Communism, a liberal sprinkling of fascism and a heavy magnum of old-fashioned American politics.

There was, however, one group of highly practical men — the professional politicians all over the country — who perceived one glittering source of energy in the whole gaudy circus. That was the spending policy, and the kind of enterprises on which Roosevelt was spending. There could be no doubt that Roosevelt was playing havoc with the Constitution — but what is the Constitution among political allies? Also, they noted that whatever feeble rifts of recov-

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ery appeared were the result of the borrowing and spending. All this borrowing and spending, however inadequate as yet, was nevertheless putting money into the pockets of the politicos and their sponsors.

Roosevelt had surrendered to the theory of the all-powerful central state — with unlimited access to the pockets of the people and the new and delightful theory of debt. This was obviously socialism. But the socialist label on the package would have been fatal. So, just about this time, a group of young socialist philosophers came up with a brand new label — the Planned Economy.

And about the same time, a group of professors and young intellectuals from Harvard arrived with a little book that brought the blood tingling to the temples of bewildered politicians and Cabinet members. It proclaimed the theory that Government borrowing was not like private borrowing. When the Government borrows (it said), it is in reality acting for the people — the people are borrowing. They are borrowing from themselves. The people are the borrowers and the spenders — a magic gimmick that could be carried on forever. With these two inventions — the Planned Economy label and the theory of perpetual debt — the highway of endless prosperity opened before the eyes of Roosevelt and his adjutants.

Most grateful of all, the politicians beheld this new dispensation with wondering and happy eyes. They felt that when the Government went into business, this was not socialism — it was merely a step toward the Planned Economy. The Government could borrow without limit. It was just the folks borrowing from themselves.

Before long came the war and the war proved the thesis to the hilt. War was a dreadful thing; but after all, when it came, the spirits of the people rose as if from a blast of Gabriel's trumpet. The unemployed toilers swarmed into the mines and the factories. The armies were packed with our youth. But best of all, here was the proof of the pudding. If prosperity could be created and maintained by Government-supported war industry, why should such prosperity not be continued when the war ended, by Government-supported industries of peace?

Almost without realizing it, the politicians saw with glowing eyes this new source of funds that would solve their problems and remove the necessity of going to the captains of industry who formerly bribed them. The Government — which means the politicians — had fantastic billions to spend. And if the war should end, the billions that were being spent on the military goose could be continued on the peacetime gander. Best of all, it would not be called socialism or Communism or fascism or any other bad name. It was the Planned Economy — or, in its most modern distorted terminology, "liberalism."

Here it is necessary to pinpoint a fact about Government. Obviously, Government is essential to orderly society. *But Government can be the greatest enemy of the free society.* It is a collection of powers over the lives and liberties and habits and needs of its citizens. *And the most dangerous element in Government is the politician.* Government itself is a mere collection of powers. They are not self-executing. Government comes alive only when it comes into the hands of a political party. The greater the power reposing in the republic, the greater will be the power of the politicians who have possession of it. The more highly equipped with power and money the Government is, the more the politician will have to buy power. It is a fact of obvious importance that Franklin D. Roosevelt, the first President to resort to this evil practice, was also the first to get elected to not just three but four terms.

The men around Roosevelt were not all Reds or socialists. They were practical politicians who saw with hungry eyes the immense floods of money flowing into the Treasury. If there could be any question as to the efficiency of this racket, the war came along to supply the final proof. Once in war, it is possible to spend without regard to the laws of sound finance. In his first year in the White House, Roosevelt spent $3,653,000,000. Before the war broke, he was spending $8,758,000,000. In 1941 he spent $13 billion, after which we entered the war — and the sky was the limit. The spendings rose each year during the war until they reached almost *one hundred billion* in 1945.

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It is now nearly 20 years since those Harvard pundits arrived in Washington with the glamorous gospel of debt and taxes under the flag of the Planned Economy. America spent four years in World War II and three years in the Korean War — seven out of twenty. But the vast spending continues. The Democratic spenders, driven from office, have been succeeded by the Republican spenders on an even greater scale. In the years following the second World War, Truman's budgets ran from $33 to $39 billion a year.

The Korean War ended in 1953 under Eisenhower. But the national budget since then has been from $65 to $67 billion a year. The massive armaments, the huge armies scattered all over the globe continue right along — because they are the principal basis of our shameful boom. No matter what party is in power, the politicians — with few exceptions — will never yield an inch in cutting expenses. Actually the outlook for 1957 is for a billion more than 1956.

BOTH of our parties are now committed to the same philosophy. And that philosophy is that the Federal Government asserts the right to plan the economic system to whatever extent it feels wise, to operate as much of it directly as its politicians wish, and to subject the national income, as it has been doing, to a process of socialization, in which the Government asserts the authority to take and spend as much as it wishes.

This theory of Government is now approved and supported by the greater part of the politicians in both parties. The huge tax collections, supplemented by whatever borrowings are necessary, enable the politicians to satisfy the demands of those whose votes they wish to cultivate. The economic society is divided into special groups with special claims upon such a Government. One group wants handouts — like the farmers who have received over $8 billion for crops they could not sell. The farm politicians can cultivate the farmers' votes by this means. But it proves to be an expensive project for the taxpayers when both parties seek to outdo each other in generosity.

School teachers feel they are inadequately paid. Instantly a politician is on the spot to promote grants of Federal money to the schools — a power wholly outside the functions of the Federal Government. Other groups want to build great highways inside states, to create work for the industries and workers in that field. Vast outlays for military defense are a potent influence on other great minorities. To illustrate with a single account, one of our greatest companies last year got a check for $1,500,000,000 for military products sold to the Government.

The Government of the United States has — by a series of devious projects, including packing the Supreme Court — distorted the Constitution for its purposes. And at the bottom is the aim of the American politicians to use the incomes, the labor, the passions and troubles of the American people to keep this socialist experiment afloat. The American politician has now adopted socialism — without using its label.

Obviously no one will contend there were no defects in our historic constitutional system. In that system, the politician was a source of serious misgovernment. His evil machinations were made possible by his misuse of the powers of Government. But it was a form of Government in which the blunders and sins of the politicians were limited by a constitutional method that was designed to protect the citizens whether Government was in good or bad hands.

We have not corrected the danger by erecting the Government into a huge central instrument of power and by committing to the hands of the politicians fantastic streams of taxed and borrowed money. We did not reform our ancient system. We substituted an infinitely worse one and equipped it with formidable weapons of public power to exploit the people.

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John T. Flynn has contributed a number of articles to HUMAN EVENTS, the last of which was "The Republic In Crisis," on October 8, 1955. He is the author of more than a dozen best-selling books on history, politics and economics, the last being *The Decline of the American Republic*. His weekly commentaries are carried by the Mutual Network.

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